Of a Free Trade.

A DISCOURSE

Seriously Recommending to our Nation the wonderfull benefits of TRADE, especially of a rightly Governed, and *Ordered Trade.*

Setting forth also most clearly,

The Relative Nature, Degrees, and Qualifications of LIBERTIE,

Which is ever to be inlarged, or restrained according to that Good, which it Relates to, as that is more, or lesse ample.

Written by HENRY PARKER Esquire.

Τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης Οὐδὲν χενεώτερον ἀλλὸ.

Doing all things thou doest none:
Busines too vast makes thee a Drone.

LONDON:
Printed by *Fr: Neile* for *Robert Boslock*, dwelling in *Pauls* Church-yard, at the Signe of the King's Head.
1648. 1647

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
JOHN KENRICK
Alderman of LONDON, Governour of the
Merchant Adventurers of ENGLAND.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
ISAAC LEE,
Deputy of the ſaid Company of *Merchant Adventurers* reſiding at *Hamburgh.*

To all other Deputies, Aſſiſtants and Members of the ſaid Famous Company.

Worthy Gentlemen:

IF in this brief Argument (which here treats of your Charters, and maintains your priviledges) there be any thing beseeming an Advocate of yours: I deſire the intire advantage thereof may redound ſolely to your ſelves. For indeed the Merit of your Cauſe is ſuch, as would require an able Orator: and when I firſt applyed my ſelf to ſerve you herein, I perceived your intereſt was the ſame as the Common intereſt of all Merchants, and that could have no termination, but in the common intereſt of our Nation: But if there appear any Error, or Failer in theſe papers: if the workmanſhip be found too unworthy of the ſtuffe: I ſhall then deſire of all my Readers, that the blame may be onely mine: and that none but my ſelf may ſuffer the leaſt diſadvantage by my defects, and diſabilities. I am certain all wiſe, impartial Judges will diſtinguiſh betwixt that which is mine in this weak peece, and that which is yours: and if they caſt ſome diſdain upon me for not

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pleading your cause, as I might; they will not proceed to a condemnation of your cause, for being no better pleaded here then it is.

In Queen Elizabeths *dayes a Tract to this very purpose was Printed by Mr.* Wheeler (*a learned Gent: that preceded me in this place*) *were that Tract now re-printed, perhaps our Times would be better satisfied in this Case. It came not to my sight, till after I had formed the lump of this, and given it all those rude lineaments almost, which it now bears: and I was induced then to persist in my resolution of finishing this, and not of retroceding; the rather, because I saw my stile and method varied much from his: because, the face of the times (which has great influence upon the State and fate of Merchandize) was not the same when He wrote, as it is now: because, his Tract was in bulk more then twice, as great as mine; because, He might give some light to me in some things, and I adde some to Him in other things; and so both might be more effectuall for the ends proposed by both, then either: because, if He was more satisfactory in matters of this particular Company, I had some thoughts in my self, that I was more proper for the affairs of Merchants in generall. These reasons kept from abortion this Essay of mine at that time: but for how long a space it was repreived, I cannot prognosticate: nor do I much regard how soon its fatall houre approaches, so the businesse which it aymed at may survive, and prosper. Gentlemen, my reputation in this case must run some hazard, and stand or fall, as the vogue of this age pleases: yet my intention is to be judged of onely by you; wherefore let that onely finde your fair acceptation, and favourable construction, and that shall be a sufficient encouragement to*

Hamb: Decemb. 30.
1647.

Your Worships obliged,
faithfull Servant,

HEN: PARKER.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING FREEDOM of TRADE.

MAN is taught by the rules of Wisdom to begin at the End of his Actions, and to give the first place in his intention, to that which is to have the last in Execution. Now the end of this discourse is improvement of Trade; and it being a thing of late much controverted by divers; whether Freedome in Trading be a proper means, or no, to improve Trade: These two Termes (*Freedome* and *Trade*) must be the subject matter of this Discourse. As for *Trade* the word is plain, and needs no explanation: and the thing is as obvious to every mans understanding, and so needs no definition. I will therefore premise something very briefly concerning the value, and importance of *Trade*, that my *end* here aymed at, to which my intention must needs give the precedence, may not seem inconsiderable to any: and then cursorily from my first Terme, I shall addresse my self to my second.

My Lord *Cook* in his Commentary upon our Great Charter (where the Merchants contentment is so prudently provided for) tels us, that Traffick is the Merchants livelihood, and that the livelihood of the Merchant is the life of the Common-weal, such as the King himself, and every Subject of the Land has an interest in. He observes also that the Merchant is the good Bayliffe of the Realme, aswell to export Native, as to import forrain Commodities for the benefit and necessary defence of the same. This Politick *Argonante* in Law amongst matters of Law, thinks it no extravagance to deliver his judgement of matters in *Trade*; and if we rightly analyse his judgement herein, we shall finde, that

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that not a word of it falls to the earth without its due weight. The Merchant indeed has a great dependance upon him both of Land and Water men, and is often commander of great ſummes of ready mony (greater then other men commonly though better landed, and eſtated can raiſe upon ſuddaine, publick exigences) and ſo even in his gowne at home he is a proffitable member of the Commonwealth: but look upon him in his imployment ſerving the *State* by his traffick, and ſo he is more then profitable, He is neceſſary to the well beeing, nay to the beeing of the State. Thoſe things which he exports conduce perhaps more to profit, and things imported to ſecurance: yet tis well intimated here that both exportation, and importation do conduce to both. Native Commodities more immediatly afford us Treaſure: yet Treaſure it as well *firmamentum belli*, as *ornamentum pacis*: and forrain commodities more uſually are materialls for Shipping, Armes, ſupplyes in times of dearth, and diſtreſſe, &c. yet ſomtimes we retayle the ſame to ſtrangers for gaine, and thereby convert them into ornaments of peace, as well as inſtruments of defence. How prodigiouſly did *Antwerpe* formerly in a very few yeares aggrandize it ſelfe? and what an exceſſe of ſplendor has *Amſterdam* attaynd to ſince? yet (for ought I know) Nature has beſtowde no more previledge upon thoſe two Townes whereby to advance themſelves with ſuch facility: then it has upon *Briſtoll*, & *Newcaſtle* amongſt us. Sure then, the *Hollander* and *Fleming* may infuſe this ſecret into us from that wonderous degree of opulence, and pompe, which both by *Trade* have aſcended unto; that importation of exotick commodities, if ſubtilly managed, may become as great an improvement, as exportation is to others. It is viſible in the *Hollander* that the mines of *Peme* are as ſerviceable to Him, as to the poore *Indian*, that diggs in them: that the *Furrs* of *Ruſſia* are equally parted betwixt Him and the *Muſcovite*: that the plaines of *Cots-would*, and *Lemſter* do as well graze his ſheepe, as they do the *Engliſhman*. And there was a time when the *Antwerpian* might have boaſted as truly, that *Arabia* was his gardine; that *Spayne* was his Orchard, that *Norway* was his Forreſt. That City (tis true) which abounds with commodities of its own, has an eaſier, & ſhorter way to proſperity then that City which is

is deſitute of the like helps, and opportunities, and yet experience diſcovers daily to us, that ſome Cities which have little of their own, being induſtrious, flowre with more abundance, and ſwim in greater ſuperfluity; then ſome other ſloathfull Cities, that naturally want nothing. Hence is the difference betwixt the Merchant and the Husbandman, the Husbandmans thrift is in *vendendo*, not *emendo* as old *Cato* tells him: But the Merchant has found out a way, how he may be *emax*, and *vendax* in the ſame thing, and often times the retaylor findes the ſecond ſale more beneficiall to Him, then the firſt was to the Proprietor. Nay even the more unuſefull Crawmery's of *Norimbergh* though they argue no thrift in them, that buy them at laſt hand, yet they alſo are no contemptible mines of Gold and ſilver to thoſe which make, or buy them for a ſecond utterance. Furthermore, if from Merchandize it ſelfe, and theſe good Bayliffes of the Realme, which ſo actively purvey in all parts of the world habitable, and uninhabitable for Treaſure, armes, and all other things, that pertain to pleaſure, health, and neceſſity: if from them, we turn to the inſtruments, of their negotiations our Ships, the wooden walls, and fortification of our State, of what reſpect ought theſe to be? Even theſe (under God) in times of Peace prevent War: in times of War procure Peace: in times of plenty they releive our Friends abroad, in times of dearth they releive us at home. For examples, tis loſſe of time to offer any in this argument, every man can tell how ſtupendiouſly *Tyre*, *Sydon*, &c. of old, and *Venice*, *Belgia* and other latter Signiories have flouriſht ſince by the gaines of Merchandize, whilſt their puiſſance, and magnificence has been more raiſed, and propagated by the Merchant, then either by the Husbandman, ſouldier, or Scholler. Tis admirable to ſee what vaſt revenues are purchaſt by ſome Nations (eſpecially where Democracy takes place) out of meere commerce; and how far other Nations in the mean time (eſpecially ſuch as are ſwayde by Monarchs) though more commodiouſly ſituated, and advantagiouſly qualified otherwiſe do neglect the ſame. The reaſon hereof may be, becauſe in popular States the Merchant uſually has more ſhare in adminiſtration of publick affaires: whereas in Monarchies, thoſe that have the charge of the rudder, have commonly little inſight,

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inſight into Trade, and as little regard of Traders. Howſoever either ſome ſingular happineſſe has hitherto attended *Spaine*, and *Portugal*, or elſe doubtleſſe the feats of Merchandice have been in more then ordinary eſteeme with their Kings: for both theſe have not onely inriched their own homes by Sea adventures, but alſo acquired thereby greater Domin ons then their own. For indeed beſides thoſe purchaſes which have been made in the Eaſt Indies, we ſee in *Mexico*, and *Peru*, there is a new Hemiſphere adjoyned now to that old half world, which the *Aſſyrians*, *Perſians*, *Grecians*, *Romans* with ſo much ſweat, and blood laboured to ſubjugate heretofore. And if the Sun find no degree in all his circuit, where He can obſcure himſelf from the Crown of *Spaines* Subjects; the thanks thereof is due to the Art of an old Navigator: and probably had *Hen: 7.* given as much credit to *Columbus* as *Ferdinand* did, either the *Auſtrian* Family had not ſpread its wings ſo wide, or the Kings of *England* had not been ſo cloſely intrenched within the foure Britiſh Seas, as now they are. But I purpoſely wave the oſtentation of many, and great inſtances, and therefore the whole weight of this Argument ſhall onely be hung upon the ſingle epitome (as it were) of this pety juriſdiction here, wherein we now reſide.

All the Land-intradoes, which tillage or paſturage yeelds to this Town of *Hamburgh* are not much more conſiderable then ſome Gentlemen and Eſquires inherit in *England*; yet the wilde Ocean, as theſe reſtleſſe Copemen plow it with their Fleetes, and harrow it with their nets; (though they creep into that too through a River, not wholly at their command) is forced to pay them as great a Tribute, and ample a rent as three the richeſt and goodlieſt Counties of *England* are annually worth. Nevertheleſſe *England* more abounding with all habiliments, and neceſſary accommodations of Trade, and ſeeming to be as much courted by the circumambient Sea, as any part of the Univerſe, for want of incouragement to her Merchants at home, and Plantators abroad owes little of her grandour, and power to that Element. Forrein Nations eaſily become greater gainers by trading into *England*, then the *Engliſh* can by trading abroad: 'tis too probable, that forrein Merchants reſerve an intire gain to themſelves out of all their own Commodities brought in hither; yet

yet ſhare a half profit with us, in all our Commodities exported hence by them. And thus whileſt we leave many benefits to our emulous hoſtile neighbours, which by the ſame induſtry (as they commendably uſe) might by us be anticipated to our own behoof; our own ſupine ſluggiſhneſſe is the cauſe that we remain ſo much the weaker, and our Enemies become ſo much the ſtronger. Thus much of the advantages of traffick; thus much of the neceſſity of that noble profeſſion, which teaches us to be the curious, & laborious marriners of all the worlds Oceans, Straits, and Creeks; if we have any deſire to be more formidable to our Enemies, or more aidfull to our Friends, or more gainfull to our ſelves, this may be held ſufficient.

From the benefit, I come now to the Freedom of *Trade:* I mean, that particular degree of freedom, which is at this day pleaded for, and patroniz'd by ſome, that profeſſe themſelves no unfriends to Trade. Herein this method ſhall conduct me: In the firſt place, I ſhall inquire, whether that Freedom, which is affected by theſe times can ſtand with due order, and diſcipline, or not: ſecondly, whether Trade probably can flouriſh, or not, without due order and diſcipline: and in the laſt place, I ſhall anſwer ſuch Arguments, as are framed for liberty, and do militate againſt our Order and Diſcipline.

Liberty in a right acception, and underſtanding, is that which delivers, and exempts us from ſome evill noxious, and offenſive to us; ſuch as is oppreſſion, too much reſtraint, &c. but it includes not any wilde condition, ſuch as leaves us looſly in all things to our own diſcretion. That famous *Roman*, that had the happines to ſet *Greece* (in that age the Eye of the world) at liberty, and did break in ſunder the yoke of *Macedon*, when He ſaw in the people too much wantonneſſe, and immoderation, He adviſed them to more continencie, and to retire into narrower bounds; *Vt ſaltem meram libertatem non hauirent.* Herein he ſeemed wiſely to diſtinguiſh betwixt that ſheere, unmixt freedom, which uſes to intoxicate us, and to bring detriment, and danger with it; and that allayed, or mixt freedom, which God, and Nature have made ſo ſweet to all Generous minds: whoſe property it is ever, to ſet reſtraints to it ſelf in ſome things, as well as to take re-

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straints off from us in other. In politicks, there are Free Monarchs, and there are Free Subjects: and the freedom of Monarchs is not incompatible with the freedom of Subjects: for neither is it necessary to the freedom of a Prince, that He should be unlimitable in all things, and beyond controll as well when He destroys, as when He saves: nor to the freedome of a Subject to live absolved from all *Laws*, and obedience. Without all question, He is the freest Prince that has the most power to do good, and the least to do harm: and He is the freest Subject, who is to pay his obedience to the mildest Laws, and indulgentest Magistrates. So in Ethicks: He injoyes the purest and most refined freedome in his own breast, which has the least furious passions to serve, and the least impetuous appetite to master; not He that is becalmed, as it were, and finds no mobility at all in his spirit. The variovs Luminaries in Heaven have their distinct magnitudes, motions, and stations: and the blessed Intelligences in the Heaven of heavens (nay even those spirits that are falne from blessednesse) retain severall distances of power, place, and office. All these things prove to us, that restraint, and liberty, are relative things, and not to be accounted simply good, or simply bad in themselves. When restraint deprives us of that good which is in temperate liberty it degenerates into oppression: when it onely saves to us that good, which is in harmonious order, it is fully answerable to Liberty. So liberty when it onely discharges us from that evill, which is in oppression, it approaches to the perfection of Order: but when it dissolves all Order, it precipitates us headlong into confusion.

Liberty is either intensive, or extensive, and both wayes it must be reduced to a just standart: for if it be in degree too void of temperature, and qualification the ruder sediment of the people cannot bear it, it strangely inebriates them: and if the degree of it be moderate, yet the dilatation of it to too many makes it incommodious. There are two vitious extreames in government; the one is rigorous, and makes nothing lawfull, or safe to any: the other is remisse, and leaves all things free and safe to all: now by the consent of all; that extreame, which straitens too much, is not so desperately ill, as that whic hinlarges too much. The reason is, because those which govern are fewer in number then the

the governed: and therefore clashing, and confusion (which must needs inevitably follow, where all limits, and restraints are taken away) is lesse dammageable amongst a few, then it would be amongst many.

Liberty therefore may well be compared to fresh waters, it is potable, and sweet whilst it endures a just confinement in the vaines and channells of the earth. But when it once refundes it selfe into the bosome of the briny *Ocean*, it retaynes no longer its former relish. And even so we must censure of Liberty by the last, whilest it produces good effects it remains Liberty, the name and thing agree well: but when it supplyes to us no good at all, or bereaves us of some good greater then it supplyes, it remaines no more then the shadow, or meere misnomer of Liberty. *Exempli gratiâ*: If all Land-inclosures were every where layde open, and all evidences cancelled, upon which mens private interests, and proprieties depend, many poore men would expect to have their conditions meliorated; yet undoubtedly their expectations at last would faile them; and together with community in all things a generall confusion of all persons, and things would breake in to the fatall destruction both of poore and rich.

Our common Proverbe puts us rightly in mind, that he which dwells every where, dwells no where: that every mans interest is no mans interest, & that every mans businesse is no mans business: now this being true in matters of Husbandry, and in all other interests, and negotiations, why should it not be as true in matters of commerce, for if agriculture generally be more necessary then trade: and if confusion in agriculture be more mischeivous then confusion in Trade, yet by the same consequence confusion in trade? is as mischievous to Traders, as confusion in tillage would be amongst those that till the earth.

Thus much of the word *Freedome* generally taken, I must now speake more particularly of that Freedome, whose expedience, or inexpedience is so much question'd in the busines of Trade.

Freedome and *restraint* are things opposite (we see) yet both admitting of severall degrees, and limitations, they are not so opposite, but that some kinde of restraint may be reconciled to some kinde of freedome, for in as much as it is sometimes convenient

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nient to be restrained, though not alwaies, and from all things; and sometimes it is inconvenient to be loosed, or inlarged though not alwaies, and from all things: in regard that restraint at sometimes onely upholds Order, and liberty at other times introduces confusion: Our mayne Quære, is onely this; Whether that restraint in Trade which hitherto has been establish't amongst such and such Companies of Merchants, be conducing to Order, or no: And whether that Freedome of Trade which irregular Interlopers dispute for be the usher of confusion, or no.

For the just discussion of this, the benefit of Order, regulation, and approved discipline amongst Merchants, is to be considered and brought into the scole of this hand, whilst the advantage of opennes, looseneſſe, and unconfinedneſſe in trading is to be brought into the other.

For out of all question, liberty is not to be poized by the meer sound of it's name, but by the solid priviledges which it brings with it, & in like manner restraint is not to be rejected except onely for the certaine, substantiall disadvantages which are found to accompany it. Let us then draw up an exact ballance.

The 1. Benefit which we now injoy by our government, and incorporation is in things appertaining to Gods worship, & the true Religion: though we live amongst *Lutherans*, *Papists*, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Pagans*: Yet we have a free exercise of our Religion, and in some places the Ordinances are as duly, profitably, and comfortably administerd amongst us, as if we were in the bosome of our own Church.

How much this priviledge tends to the honor of God, the propagation of the true faith, how much to the prosperity of trade (Godlineſſe having not onely the promises of the world to come, but also of this life) & how much to be bewail'd the want of the Word, and Sacraments is amongst our Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Portugal*; let all men judge. Yet how this divine blessing can be continued amongst us, after that we are bound together by no links of Association, but that we may trade at large arbitrarily where we list, how we list, and when we list, is worthy to be considered; and I beleive all men who have a true sence, and tincture of Religion in their hearts will consider it seriously.

seriously. The next benefit is in matters of Justice: Though we are far distant from our own Judges & Courts, and cannot have timely recourse to the remedie of our owne Laws, nay though we should otherwise be exposed to the snares, and rigors of forrein Laws, and Magistrates, we are now (in matters where appeale is not requisite) tryed by men of our own Religion, of our own Nation, and education, and such also as are present upon the place.

All Partners that enter into a joynt Trade for the most part Covenant here mutually, and voluntarily in all cases of dispute, and doubt to stand to the judgment of this Court, I never saw any Indentures hitherto without that expresse clause in them. Nay even strangers here have often declined their owne Tribunals, and submitted their cases to our decisions, and I never yet heard of any of them that departed not from our Court fully satisfied both with our Justice, and expedition: it cannot therefore be expected, that our own Merchants which know so well what a priviledge it is to be judged by Merchants, especially being present upon the place, and such as guide their judgments by the same Merchants Law, as is in force in *England*, should not set a great price upon this especiall priviledge. *Hen:* the 4th. and *Hen:* the 7th. were as wise Kings as ever raign'd in *England*, and when the one of them granted our Charter, & the other inlarged the same, the main consideration, which both of them had in their eyes, was the prevention of many mischeifs empeachments, & obstructions which at that time sensibly oppressed Merchants, and confounded Trade, *ob defectum boni, & sani Regiminis.*

A Third Benefit which we are now capable of by being incorporated into Companies is, that hereby we are inabled to do many egregious works of charity, which by our disfranchisement would all be utterly lost, and extinguisht.

The Merchant Adventurers are but one branch of the Merchants of *England*, and the Merchants here residing are but one branch of the Merchants Adventurers, yet how many hundreds has this branch sustained, and releived in cases of necessity? and how many widowes, and poore families doth it constantly feed and refresh? About 16 yeers since, when the expedition of Marquise *Hamilton* had miscarried here in *Germany* many, sick, distressed souldiers that were the woful splinters of his broken ar-

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armye came hither, and were not onely saved from perishing, but also shipt for *England* at this Companies charge. M: *Ant: Bedingfield* was then our Deacon, and had the charge of the poores box, he is now a Parliament man, and can averre upon his knowledge that this society issued no lesse at that time within 6 months space then 400 pound, for such devout purposes.

A Fourth Benefit afforded by our present Government, is, that hereby we are render'd far more considerable instruments to serve and honour our own Country, then else we should be, and that not onely in Trade, but also in diverse other eminent, publick Offices.

As we are now imbodied, and compacted, we can by our common seales raise great summes of mony: We are in a qualification to entertaine Princes, to oblige Cities, to procure right, and timely intelligence, and sometimes to prevent publick misunderstandings: and so to merit much oftentimes of the Nation, from whence we are.

That formidable *Armado* which in 1588 was designed to swallow us up, had inprobability been far more fatall then it was if it had been appointed sooner, and arrived when Queen *Elizabeth* was not so well appointed as it found her afterwards. And yet this is well known, that *Gresham* and other Merchants by taking up the monys at *Genoa*, and our Company by doing the like at *Keeler Mart* in *Holsteine*: did so prevent *Philip* that his Invasion was retarded thereby for a whole year, and that retardment being so much to the disadvantage of *Spaine*, and to the advantage of *England*, was under God a powerfull meanes of preserving us. *Charles* the 5th. by calculation found that in *Antwerpe* 20000 Soules, and in all the Low Countries at least 60000 had a lively-hood, and subsistance from the *English* Trade: wherefore when he was very resolute to bring the inquisition into *Antwerpe*, and remained unmoovable against all other arguments, and supplications of that Town: yet this motive, that the *English* Company would be dislodged by introducing of that rigor, diverted him from his purpose.

Also when the same *Charles* had transferred all his signiories, & Dominions to his son *Philip*, that branch of the Merchant Adventurers appeared in gallant Rate to grace those Solemnities, consuming

consuming above 2000 Crowns in sumptuous furniture, shewes and triumphall arches. In the yeer 1581. likewise the Duke of *Alanson* in the same City was entertained by 80 *English* Merchants of the same Company, all bravely mounted on horse back, apparelled in black velvet, & most of them with brooches & chains of gold about their necks: for which they received thanks from Queen *Elizabeth* and the Lords of her Councell. The King of *Bohemia*, and some of our Kings *Nephews* (besides diverse Embassadors) have found some seemly receptions also from us here at *Hamburgh*, and from our brethren at *Roterdam*, upon severall occasions, but I forbeare prolixity in this point. An other excellent singular Benefit of our government is, that thereby we are put into a capacity of injoying all that is good and profitable in union, and all that is good, and profitable in division withall. Take away that Order, and Harmony that is now setled amongst us, and has been setled by all our Kings, and countenanced by all our Parliaments from *Hen:* the 4th. till this very day, and as fully confirmed by this Parliament as by any: and our Trade will become instantly both straggling, and confused: and as a straggling Trade will deprive us of whatsoever is good in union, so a confused Trade will abridge us of all that is good in a due method, and distribution.

This may be demonstrated most plainly in a military bodie: 20000 men well armed, and imbattaild, are of greater force, then 40000 drawn together in an unformed, undigested heap; and when that shall be accounted an Army of so many Souldiers effective, this shall be despised as a rout of so many men rudely conglomerated, and thronged together. For 'tis not sufficient that there be together in one Feild a due proportion of Commanders and Souldiers, of Horse and Foot, of Arms offensive, and defensive: all these must be severally ranged, and distantly imployed: the Commander must move here, the Souldier there, the Horse must charge here, the Foot there; such a Regiment must be affigned its post here, such a Brigade must advance there: wise men know experimentally, that there is an art in division sometimes, such as in many cases gives life to Union: and it is as true on the contrary: that the queintest division makes miserable Musick, when it is not subservient to Union. For let a Battall be marshall'd

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marshall'd in all its members, and parts according to the most exact rules of souldery either ancient, or moderne: yet if the Trumpets sound contrary points of warre, if the superior Commanders give contrary Orders, if all these curiously fashion'd digestions, and divisions be not inspirited with one, joynt designe, which like the soul is to over-rule all the Organs; what can be expected from this great, moliminous frame? Now if we make any doubt whether or no the use of Tacticks be as great in mercatorian, as in military affairs let us come to neerer application, and bend our selves to consider, as well what the want of union, as what the want of distribution usually occasions amongst Traders.

Union amongst Merchants cannot be denyed to be of exceeding great importance, for in all places where we fix our residence, we see, it makes us more valuable, and acceptable: Whilest we are lookt upon as an orderly, united Society, we are known to be able to make, or divert a Trade in or from any one Town, or Province. How soon was *Bruges* in *Flanders* despoyl'd of its fame, and opulence after our Company withdrew from it? and how soon did *Antwerpe* transcend *Bruges* in fame, and opulence after our Commodities were stapled in *Brabant*? When 'twas too late, *Bruges*, besides inlargement of former priviledges, could offer us moneys, and descend to strange intreaties for the wooing and winning of our return: but *Antwerpe* had first prevailed with us, and having prevailed, it sent forth its Magistrates to meet, and welcome us with processions. And well it was for *Antwerpe*, that the *English* were so taken with their civilities, for in the space of 60 or 70 yeers, whereas it had, before it was our Mart, not above foure able Merchants, and six Ships, it became the glorious Magazine of all Europe. The like instance might be given in *Stodt*, and *Hamburgh*, the same cause that now makes *Hamburgh* rich, did once do the like at *Stodt*: and the same cause that made *Stodt* poore, may hereafter perhaps work the same effect in *Hamburgh*. Who sees not therefore that from the benefit which strangers receive from us, whilest we are thus associated, and made capable of marrying our Company to them, arise those reciprocall obligations, and speciall dowries, as it were, which they by their concordates confirm unto us? Where we are unprofitable, we must expect

expect to be held despicable: and what extraordinary profit can other Nations expect from our Merchants, when they appear onely as so many individuall persons, or straggling Traders.

The *English* had at the *Narve* in *Leifland* a good Trade, and good sales for our Native Commodities for a while, but about 1565. divers straggling Merchants resorted thither out of *England* and so brought themselves, and their wares into great contempt. Divers of them went about the Town with Cloth in their arms, and Measures in their hands, and so when they had shamefully imbased our *English* Draperies, to the disreputation of our Country, and decay of themselves, the Lords of the Councell at the next Parliament were inforced, for prevention of the like sordid, Pedlar-like traffick thereafter, to comprise the *Narve* within the *Muscovie* Companies Charter.

Thus is Union, or a politick Association amongst Merchants, beneficiall to the places where we trade, and by resultance beneficiall to our selves, and in the last resort beneficiall to our whole Nation: for all these interests are so interweaved, that the benefit of the Stranger is requited with the benefit of the *English* Merchant; and the benefit of the *English* Merchant is to be regarded as the benefit of the *English* Nation. For in some things that which immediately advantages the *English* Merchant, advantages mediately the *English* Nation: even as in other things that which immediately brings prosperity to the *English* Nation, mediately brings prosperity to the *English* Merchant. This is to illustrate the Commodities which flowe from our Union, now the Commodities which flowe from a due distribution, and division in Trade are no lesse visible. The whole world almost is now aptly cantoniz'd amongst several Societies of our Merchants, whilest some trade East, some West, some neerer, some further off; and were it not for this apt partition, it would unavoidably fall out, that some Mart Towns would proove over-pester'd, or like a Common of Pasture over-layd, whilest others in the mean time would be left utterly unfrequented. And sure if the world were not spacious enough for a Nation of Traders, some pretence might be framed, why all men ought to be licenced in all places: but since the contrary is most true, and no man is so straited for want of roome, but that he may trade in some places to his own advantage, though he be bounded that he may not trade in all places

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to other mens disadvantage: nothing but an emulous desire to interfere with others, and to incumber trade could provoke men to be opposite to our regular distributions. I need not amplifie hereupon, tis enough that I further refer to the example of our thriving Neighbours in *Holland*; whosoever will behold Order in its beauty, and perfection amongst Merchants there, He may observe them so politickly associated, and their Associations so equally distributed, that no one impedes the other abroad, nor no one Town ingrosses all Trading to it self at home.

Hitherto I have instanced in the manifold expediences of Order, and Government, especially in matters of piety, equity, charity, and policy as well in relation to the Common weal of Merchants, as to the Common-weal of *England*: now whether there be any thing in freedom of Trading that can preponderate, and excell all these, I leave to all sober men to discern; if there be, I wish it may prevail, and obtain a just preference before all these: if there be not, more need not be inferred out of these premisses: sober men cannot be affected with the name, or empty sound of a relative, that is rather to be judged by its circumstances, effects, and additions then by it self: sober men cannot but distinguish betwixt that true freedome which alwayes dis-inthrals us of some evill, and that shadowy ghost of freedome, which often deprides us of our greatest privileges. I hope I have now discharged, what was to be expected from me in my first point, and made it apparent that the freedom in Trade which is to be admeasured, and ballanced with all these expediences here enumerated had not need to be of large extension.

It remains now that I come to my next head, and therein inquire whether trade be likely to flourish or no, being stripped, and robbed of all those powers and preeminences which our Charters convey to us.

I have hitherto looke upon Merchants as Travaylers sojourning abroad, I must now come neerer, and looke upon them as very Merchants, buying, selling, bartering, bargaining, &c. with other Nations; & from generall Order, and harmony amongst Merchants, I must come to instance in such, and such species of that Order, and harmony, which has hitherto been so fortunate to them. And first let us looke into that provision of our Government, which limits the education, and admission of Apprentices, & though I have not leisure to cite all our rules concerning the

same which are very many, & each of them very usefull, yet consider the *summum genus* it self, see if the breeding of Apprentices be not absolutely necessary. Grant to all without exception an open license to trade at large, & who will indure the strict duty and bondage of Apprenticehood? and yet without that strict duty, and bondage, who can be sufficiently instructed, and prepared to gaine all those Arts, and subtilties, which we know are absolutely necessary to all Traders. In all sciences, and occupations breeding is necessary, but amongst Merchants it is more then ordinarily necessary: For if Divines may pretend somthing to divine, secret illapses from above; and souldiers by their generall tacticks learned in one Countrey, may be qualified for command in all Countries; and if agriculture be a skill that depends much upon naturall sagacity: yet with Merchants 'tis far otherwise. For unto a Merchant not onely a breeding, but a particular breeding in such or such a place, in such or such a Trade is requisite. He that is experienced to trade in *Russia* is not thereby inabled to trade in *Spaine*, and he that can deale warily enough with *Indians*, *Turks* and *Barbarians*, is not alwaies prepared enough to cope with the *Jews*, Hans Townes, and *Hollanders*. Question lesse to license all men to trade without breeding, nay without the particular advertisements, and preparations of such a breeding is to send men naked into battell, and to render them up as a prey to vulpine, circumventing neighbours. I might here take occasion to commend the training up of our Youths on this side the seas, as it is publickly advantagious, there being infused into them thereby somthing of the Souldier, and somthing of the Scholler, and indeed (if I am not deceived) there is commonly instilled somthing into them, that better qualifies them to serve the State, then what we see in meere Schollers or Souldiers. I wish our young gallants which learn in *France* to weare ribbons, and in *Spain* and *Italy* to be perfidious, and do worse things, did alwayes return home as much improved, and as well accomplisht as our Merchants use to do. But this is not within my lists, and that thought shall supersede me.

For our next evidence, we may appeal unto our many Orders made to prevent, and reform, the ill and faulty making of Cloth, and other *English* woollen Commodities, without which Orders all our Manufactures would be falsified, and corrupted, and consequently

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sequently our Nation disparaged, all buyers of Cloth at home, and abroad abused, and Trade it self much desolated. At the sollicitation of our Merchants, wholsome Statutes have been Enacted, and to second them strict Proclamations have been publisht: and to back them the Merchants have appointed Officers, furnisht stipends, and applyed divers other preventions, that our Draperies might be kept to their just measures, weights, and numbers; yet we find all is too little. The Clothiers begin to sophisticate of late more then ever, and all our power will be insufficient to withstand them; except the State reach forth their helping hands yet further; and do more exactly poize both our ends and pretensions. The clamors of the Clothiers against the Merchants priviledges arise chiefly from this offence, though they are commonly palliated with other pretexts, and tis a wondrous thing, that when they are sensibly gainers by transgressing Laws, and we are as sensibly at a charge to maintain them, they should be so well, and we so ill interpreted.

In my Lord *Cooks* opinion nine parts of ten of all our *English* Staple Commodities, are such as we sheere from the Sheeps back, we had need therefore be carefull how abuses break in upon us in these Commodities, and how we countenance those that are the abusers, and yet thereby discountenance the zealous reformers of the same. M: *Anth: Wither* is now a Justice of Peace about *London*, He was once imployed by the Merchant Adventurers besides others about reforming of these abuses, let it be inquired what a liberall yeerly stipend He obtained for the same.

In the third place we may produce our many prudent Orders against mis-shipping, whereby, first, the Shipping of the Kingdom is the better maintained, in as much as by our government it is not permitted to any particular men for cheapnesse sake either to ship in forrein bottoms, or in vessels of our own that are undefensible. Secondly, by our regularity in shipping many fraudulent attempts of such as use to steal customes, bribe searchers, colour strangers goods, &c. are disappointed. Thirdly, by the due observation of our rules, whilest we ship our goods hand in hand together we go stronger through the Seas, are in lesse fear of Rovers, and other dangers. We also are lesse injurious to our common Trade, yea and to particular persons amongst our selves: in as much as now we forestall not one another, nor bring down

down our common prices by the precipitate haste of some few; by this means also forrein buyers are accommodated by their certainty, knowing in due season when to repair to our Marts; and we are not disaccommodated by our uncertainty, because we know when to sell, and when to forbear selling, and thereby we keep our Commodities from being blown upon, either by having our Ware-houses too full at sometimes, or too empty at others.

In the fourth place, the many Cautions, Orders made by us for the reglement of our sales may justly be here cited: by some of these, we are limited to such certain shew-dayes partly for our own ease, and partly for the buyers advantage. The Cities of *Lubeck* and *Bremen* have lately been urgent with us to set more shew-dayes here at *Hamburgh* then two in a week: but we seeing our Trade no ampler, then it is at present, found the inconvenience of altring our Shew dayes, and so denied them satisfaction in that point. By others of our Orders we are restrained from giving gratifications to Merchants or Brokers, from all pety sales, and retails, which (if allowed) would reduce us soon to ignoble, vulgar Pedlars: by others we are bound from giving credit without liquid Bils, and specialties, also from pawning Bils, or rebating under such a certain rate, and hereby we prevent many Suits with strangers, and many strifes amongst our selves. By others we are inhibited from allowing Tare out of the Mart Town, or out of due time, or without due inspection: and we are all convinced, that were it not for regulation in this matter of Tare, there were no abiding in *Germany*. How our Trade languishes in *Holland* at this time by reason of Oppression in matter of Tare is known too well, our Councell Table in King *James* his dayes took notice of it, and sought the redresse of it: and sure our Merchants hitherto have onely continued trading there, out of some hope of better times, and conditions hereafter, as Husbandmen use to manure the earth in times of dearth, as well as in times of plenty. Commissioners from *Lubeck* and *Bremen* seconded by the Senate of this Town have assailed us lately, and eagerly pressed us to allow the same Tare, as is in *Holland*, but our answer was resolute, that rather then to submit to such a thraldome we should be forced to abandon all Trade in *Germany*.

Many more instances then these (if it were not for prolixity) might

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might be made: but as those which have any knowledge in Merchandice will acknowledge these are matters of grand moment, and importance: so to other men that are ignorant, or careless of our affairs, more would be to little purpose. I will onely adde this, that as we injoy many conveniencies by being an united, imbodied Fraternity, so by vertue of the same we are guarded and protected from many inconveniences. As we have a jurisdiction amongst us, we are inabled upon all new emergencies to contravene new devised arts of fraud, and circumvention in bargaining, selling, &c. by making new Orders against them.

Also as we are a Corporation, we are armed thereby with a competence of power to inforce, & execute our Orders so made, and if any violence of forrein States, and Potentates contrary to our Intercourses, and Treaties of amitie enterposes to our prejudice, or if any new Tolls, imposts, or exactions oppresse us, we are in this posture better qualified to relieve, or vindicate our selves, then else we should be. A thousand private men intending their own particular interests as so many particular men, having no common purse, nor publick Officers to solicite the busines of them all, cannot expect that authority with forrein States, nor hope to make so vigorous a resistance against oppressions and innovasions, as one hundred Merchants may, that are closely linked, and cemented together under one, and the same policie. For want of such policie, all other Nations were long since eaten out of their Trade by the *Antwerpians*, and *Esterlings*, and had the Merchant Adventurers been destitute of those powers, and immunities which *Hen:* the 4th. *Hen:* the 7th. and other famous Kings of *England* establisht amongst them, they also had been long since driven out of Trade in like manner.

One man is woolvish to another, as the old Proverbe advertises, nay when Bears will not prey upon Bears, nor woolfes upon woolfes, man will scarce prey upon any other then man. And yet this notwithstanding private man to private man is not so unnaturall; as Nation is to Nation: for amongst particular men the primary Lawes of our Creation, which injoyne us to do as we would be done unto, and to be kindest to them that are neerest in kinde, are not so totally abrogated to us, and eraced out of our consciences, as they are amongst Nations.

If there be any fiercer feude, and violenter antipathy then other,

other, tis commonly seen amongst those States that are most consanguineous, and neerest conjoyned in other relations, and as for doing to other Nations, as we would have done unto us; that sems a ridiculous principle amongst Statsmen, inasmuch as to do justice to a stranger when he is plaintiffe against a Native, is no lesse reputed then to do injustice to a Native: and to let slip any advantage whatsoever that is offered us of spoyling forreiners, is the same accounted as to spoile domesticks.

Republicks have no breasts, or seats where any such thing as conscience or true honour can reside; were it not for fear of requital, and return of injuries from those that are injured, all people would be at the same passe, as *Argiers* is now at.

That bold *Roman* that expostulated with *Alexander*, why it might not be as lawfull for him to seize boats, as it was for Princes to invade whole Empires, seemed to conceive that the Laws of Nature extended to communities of men, as well as to individualls: but alas that would neither justifie his private roving at sea; nor condemne *Alexanders* royall roving by land.

In matters of warre Monarchies especially, and in matters of Trade Republicks, lay hold of all advantages, as if their patrimoniall rights were never bounded by any thing but invincible difficulties, and necessities, nor honour had any rules to measure things by but those of profit, and disprofit.

This is the reason why the *Jewish* Lumbards are odious for their excessive gains exacted, and extorted out of all such as they contract with, and therefore are pursued as petty Pirats: but the *Hollanders* and *Hans* Townes for the same exploits done more publickly are extolled as great Merchants, nay are crowned as glorious Conquerors. We that live here in *Hamburgh*, and our Brethren in *Holland* are too sensible of this: our often removals from one Mart Town to another, to ease our selves of insupportable pressures most fedifragously brought in upon us, have preserved that life in our *English* Trade that is yet remaining in it: yet the vast expences of our removings have left us in a sad condition.

This concludes my two first points: I am now in order to answer such arguments as are brought for a *free Trade*, and such objections as are urged against our priviledged way of Trading.

The first Argument is founded upon this maxime: *Bonum quo communius*

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communius, eo melius: If Merchandize (ſay our Adverſaries) be good for the Common-weal, then the more common it is made, the more open it is layd, the more good it will convey to us. But all grant Merchandize to be good, *Ergo. Anſ.* To detect the fallacies of this Argument: we muſt confeſſe that this maxime is true of all ſuch good things as are abſolutely, or infinitely good: yet we may deny that Merchandize is either abſolutely, or infinitely good. For firſt, Merchandize *ſecundum quid*, that is, if it be rightly managed, and regulated may be profitable to ſuch a man, or ſuch a State: but (we all ſee) that Merchandize at ſometimes, for want of good government, and order, undoes many private men, and in their undoing proves injurious to the State. Secondly, Merchandize may be reckoned amongſt good things, but not amongſt things infinitely good, therefore though the diffuſion, or inlargement of it may bring profit to the State unto ſuch bounds, and degrees; yet this is no proof, but that there are bounds, and degrees beyond which it may not be diffuſed, nor can be inlarged without diſprofit. Thoſe good things which are ample enough to ſatisfie all, may be extended to all, and the further they are extended, the more good they do: but Trade is not of that amplitude as to ſatisfie all men in all places, and at all times, and therefore not within the ſame Maxime. If there were in the fruits, and increaſe of the earth an over-flowing abundance to ſuſtain all, and anſwer all mens deſires without our labour and ſweat, then hedges and ditches would be to no purpoſe: but ſince the earth is not ſo profuſe of its favours, nor ſo immenſe in its revenues, we muſt maintain mounds, and terriers; priority of poſſeſſion, expence of toyl, purchaſe, &c. muſt be regarded, or elſe we ſhall all be ſoon at a loſſe.

Before the Land of Canaan was fully ſtockt, *Abraham* and *Lot* might intercommon freely, and graze their Herds ſociably in all places where they travelled; but in proceſſe of time, when their flocks became more numerous, and when conſequently the ſurface of that milk-and-honey flowing Countrey began to ſhrink before them, they were both neceſſitated to journey ſeverall wayes, and to provide for themſelves more fixt, and diſtinct habitations. The water is a more unmeaſured element then the earth, and therefore formerly it was ever held a common patrimony to all: yet ſince Navigation is improved to this degree, even

even this alſo is now diſterminated, and made ſubject to imaginary lives for avoiding of incroachments, and ſtrife about fiſhings, &c. And not onely navigable Rivers, but Seas, and Oceans begin to ſubmit to particular Proprieties, and to own the ſpeciall prerogatives of ſuch, and ſuch ſigniors. Lawyers ſay, *Cujus eſt Solum, ejus eſt etiam uſq; ad Cœlum*: wherefore if neither Aire, Water, nor Land reſiſt the Laws of propriety, we cannot think the Trade of Merchants is a thing more emptie, and uncapable of limits and rules, then any of the Elements: if our grounds may be peſter'd with cattell; if Ponds may be over-ſtockt with Fiſh; if the ſeveral Climates of the lower Region be ſeverally peopled, and frequented with fowl that ſeem to underſtand their ſeverall ſeaſons: we can hardly imagine that ſuch a Countrey, or ſuch a Mart Town in ſuch a Countrey ſhould not be over-charged with too great a confluence of Merchants.

Second Argument. That which ſeizes too great matters into the hands of too few, and ſo is in the nature of a Monopoly, has been alwayes condemned as a preventing Trade, and held injurious to the major part of mankind: but ſuch is the Trade which priviledged, and incorporated Merchants drive, &c.

Anſ. The force of this Objection is, that if Trade may not be ſet at liberty to all, yet it may be ſet at liberty to more then it is, except we will incur the name and blame of Monopoliſts. In behalf of the Merchant Adventurers who have, I think, the fulleſt Charters, & have ever met with the greateſt oppoſitions, though I am not ſo well acquainted with other Companies, I may with much confidence give theſe Anſwers hereunto. Firſt, though Wools endraped be the main matter of our Trade, yet we deal not onely in thoſe Draperies, but alſo in all kinds of Wares, and, other Merchandizes. Secondly, neither doth our Company alone tranſport theſe Draperies: all other *Engliſh* Merchants, nay the Hans Towns, and all other Strangers in amity with the Crown of *England*, at their pleaſure may buy, and vend again all ſorts of *Engliſh* Wares that are fully manufactured, as uncontrollably as they bring in their own Commodities. Wherefore it cannot be ſaid that this chief Trade of the Kingdom is ingroſſed, or monopoliz'd by us in either of theſe two reſpects, for as much as our priviledges neither confine that Trade to us alone, nor us to that Trade alone.

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Thirdly, The name of Monopoliſts cannot be fixed on them in reſpect of the bounds allotted them for their Trade: for by calculation we finde there are above 6000 perſons free of our Company, and from the *Some* in *France* to the *Scaw* in *Germany*, (the *nihil ultraes* of our commerce) is no extraordinary proportion, for ſuch a proportion of men, let the number of the Merchant Adventurers be compared with the number of all other Merchants, and then compare this ſpace of earth in *France* and *Germany* with all the globe beſides; and it will ſoon appeare, that the confines of our Trade are rather too narrow, then otherwiſe. Some hundreds, nay thouſands of our Company that are capable of our freedome by ſervice, or by Patrimony are faine to leave their callings, & to betake themſelves to other imployments: and neceſſity hath now taught us to confine our ſelves to a certaine ſtint of Apprentices, in regard that our Trade is too narrow for our Traders, & therefore whileſt we are inforced to break out, what can invite other men thus to break in, and to invade our precincts?

Fourthly, The price that is ſet upon our priviledges cannot condemne us of monopolie: for if a ſufficient number could not be admitted by ſervice, or patrimony: yet the State hath left a door open for any that are qualified for trading to be admitted upon a meane, inconſiderable rate.

Any Out Port Merchant might have had his freedome for 25. l. *ſter ing*, and any of *London* for 50. l. and thoſe which neglected that opportunity, are yet capable for the double ſumme.

Fifthly, The ſtint which we ſet upon our ſelves in buying cloth cannot be objected to us, as favouring of monopolie: For firſt the whole Company by common advice, and conſent ſets this ſtint for its own good; and as the whole Company beſt underſtands its own intereſt, ſo neither has it, or can it have any intereſt, but ſuch as is conſiſtent with the intereſt of the State. 2ly, the Company had never reſolved upon any ſuch ſtint, but in contemplation of the narrowneſſe of Trade: and ſo far is this ſtint from making trade more ſcarce, that it ſelf was ordained meerly as ſome eaſe and remedie againſt the ſcarcity of Trade.

We know well that tis poſſible for ſome one Merchant to exceed fourty others in purſe, or credit; yet ſure it cannot be expedient for the Common-wealth, that one Merchant ſhould graſpe too much,

much, and ſwell up to an exceſſive bulk, whileſt fourty other Merchants being overſhadowed by him, can attain to no growth at all. Thirdly, As the ſtint of Clothes is now ſet, it remains larger then is made uſe of by diverſe, the fourth part of our Merchants ſcarce ever buyes to the fourth part of Clothes that is allowable by the ſtint, wherefore it is a moſt indirect and prepoſterous thing to call that a monopolie, or ſtraitning of Trade; which is the onely remedie againſt monopolie, & the meer effect of ſtraitneſſe in Trade.

They which know the difference betwixt Common certain, and Common ſans number; and ſee how the Husbandman in dreſſing his vine, makes it more fruitfull by paring away the luxuriant products of its fertility, wil eaſily judge by theſe ſtints, that the Merchants were grown too numerous for their Trade, and not that their Trade was grown too copious for their managing. Sixtly, As our Trade cannot be called an ingroſſing Trade, or a monopolie in reſpect of any other of its priviledges or powers, ſo neither can it be accuſed thereof in regard of our covinous, falſe dealing in Marchandize. Tis true, our Company in *Qu: Elizabeths* daies found much oppoſition from the *Hans* Townes, and in that bando which was procured againſt us, to remoove us from *Stadt*, the main pretence was monopolie uſed by the *Engliſh* Merchants, but for a further Account of that matter, we are to be informed: that the *Hans* Towns had antiently by their great skill in Merchandize, made themſelves very famous, and procured to themſelves priviledges in many Countries. Amongſt other Nations alſo that did priviledge them, the *Engliſh* was not the laſt, or leaſt.

In *London* therefore they had the *Steelyard* aſſigned them with power to exerciſe Merchant Law there, for their own better regulation: and amongſt many other old immunities, they were to pay for wares brought in, and carried out one and a quarter *per centum* cuſtome, and no more.

This Cuſtome whileſt the cheife Trade of the land was in Wooll undraped, was no great loſſe to us: but after that the full Art of clothing was made ours in *Ed:* the 3ds. daies, and the Wooll Trade was almoſt quite decaied, our State found that it loſt exceedingly by paſſing out cloth at the old Cuſtome, and

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that the *Hans* Towns priviledges were diverse otherwaies abused to our publick detriment. Hereupon after some contests, (*Ed:* the 6th. raigning *Anno* 1550.) the said priviledges were lookt into, and found both defective in themselves, and also forfeited by diverse breaches of conditions: the formalities of their incorporation were so voide, that none could safely contract with them, and therefore being detected of diverse injuries in colouring of forrein goods, not within the verge of their priviledges, and other falshoods: it appeared, that they were such an uncertain, misconstituted body, that they were not liable to any account, nor answerable for any trespasse.

This procured a judgment to annull, and abrogate the *Hans* Towns priviledges, and in *Anno* 1557. under *Phil:* and *Mary*, our Customes were improoved from 14. d. to 6. s. 8. d. *per Cloth* payable by the *English*, and 13. s. 4. d. by strangers, and this improovement did but equall the old Custome of wooll undraped. Till the death of Q: *Mary*, whilest *Spain* and *England* were united, the *Hans* Townes seeing their profit so far impared, and Trade in *England* in so good a measure advanced, grew sullenly envious, but durst attempt nothing.

Nevertheless *Anno* 1564. when *Queen Elizabeth* was at enmity with the *Spanyard*, with more resumed courage the *Hans* Towns laboured to suppresse the growth of our Merchandize: and therfore to make the King of *Spaine* their abettor against us in *Germany*, and the Netherlanders, they made themselves parties against us in *Spaine*, by furnishing armes, amunition, &c. Thus some acts of hostility were done on both sides, Queen *Elizabeth* in a defensive way seized some of their Ships sent to supply the *Spanyard*, and the *Spanyard* at their solicitation banisht us out of the Low Countries, and caused us to be interdicted *Germany* also.

Anno 1567. the *English* Merchants being expelled out of the *Netherlands*, contracted for entertainment at *Hamburgh* for 10 yeers: these 10 yeers being expired, no longer residence could be had there, inatmuch as all the *Hans* Towns could not injoy us wholly to themselves, & for any one to injoy us, they thought it unequall, and prejudiciall to the rest.

From *Hamburgh* we removed to *Embden*, and there the same parties

parties prosecuting and renewing their clamors of a monopolizing Trade in the *English*, a new Edict from the Emperor *Anno* 1582. was thundered out against us. The Grave of *Embden* nothing troubled at this Edict, sent his Chancellor Doctor *Adoller*, since *Syndicus* of *Hamburgh* to the Spiers, who there defended the *English* Trade against the slanderous imputation of monopolie, and for a while gave such satisfaction, that the Emperours Edict was not put in execution against us.

Queen *Elizabeth* also in 1595. wrote thus to the Emperour, *Monopolium de quo Hanseatici subditos nostros criminantur, calumniæ potius quam veræ accusationis rationem per se ferre videtur.* To wipe off this calumny, we can also instance in severall letters of attestation under the Common Seals of *Antwerpe*, *Middleburgh*, *Embden*, *Stadt* justifying our faire, and just manner of trading: and if such legible proofs be not so available, wee could appeal to all the places where ever we resided, as so many visible arguments, prooving fully for us, that our way of traffick hath not been onely blamelesse, and just, but also strangely fortunate and propitious.

From *Embden* (for the *Spanyard* prevailing in *Freisland* had now made those parts dangerous to us) we betook our selves to *Stadt*, and there we continued till 1597. so desirous was each of the *Hans* Towns singly to have harboured us, if all jointly had not envied that single advantage: and being there then discommodated, 10. or 11. of the cheife Towns under the *States* sent to invite us, and made offers of large accommodations amongst them.

We may further take notice, that *Ed:* the 6th. reserved for the *Hans* Towns after forfeiture of their priviledges, as ample a freedome of commerce, as for any strangers whatsoever: That Queen *Mary* restored the said Towns upon ingagement that their inordinate Trade should be forborne, and this ingagement being violated, She yeelded to a new Treaty about a fit moderation of their Intercourses. Yet the *Hans* Towns did not onely neglect to send Commissioners within the time prefixed, but at the same time publisht an Edict at *Lubecke*, prohibiting all Trade with the *English*, Queen *Mary* for her husbands sake was much a freind to the *Austrian* familie, and for the *Austrians* sake to

these

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theſe Eaſterlings, and therefore ſhe offered again another Treatie in 1557. but this offer was rejected likewiſe with an opprobrious pretence, that in *England* they could expect no competent Judges of their cauſe. If they durſt not truſt their cauſe to *England* in Q: *Maries* dayes, becauſe it was a Monarchy, then they judged diſhonorably of all Monarchies: if they made no difference of Monarchies, but diffided in it, becauſe it was a forrein State, where they ſhould not be their own Judges, this reflects alſo upon all forrein States: but the truth is, they had an ill cauſe, and ſo were diffident of all Judges, but themſelves. Howſoever Queen *Elizabeth* in 1560. offered yet a new Moderation, and this not accepted of from the beginning of her Reign, ſhe commanded they ſhould be uſed here as her own Subjects, and better then any other Forreiners. This is alſo moſt certain, till She ſaw her Subjects driven from *Hamburgh* in 1578. and an exaction of 7½. *per centum* ſet upon all *Engliſh* Goods at *Lunenburgh* in 1579. and all the *Engliſh* generally ill Treated at *Dantzig*, *Deventer*, &c. and not onely her Enemies of *Spaine* aſſiſted by them, but other Princes alſo exaſperated againſt Her, She made little difference betwixt them and her own Subjects. I hope this will be a ſufficient juſtification of our *Engliſh* Trade: and now ſince it appears, that this oppoſition was procured to us by ſtrangers and enemies, that ſought not to reduce us to a fair Trade, but to eject us out of all Trade: me thinks it ſhould be very unworthy of any *Engliſhman* to make uſe of the ſame Objections.

3. Arg: That Trade which is not onely complained of by Strangers, but Natives alſo, and in all ages has encountred with ſo many Complainants, is likely to be a Monopolie, or ſome private, anticipating, indirect way of commerce: but ſuch is that of all Merchants incorporated by particular Charters, &c. All priviledged Merchants, eſpecially the Adventurers of *England* (whoſe priviledges are lookt upon as ſo ample) have had Adverſaries alwaies to wreſtle, and conteſt with both abroad, and at home: yet this may be truly ſaid of them (as of *Cato*) they have been as often abſolved, as accuſed: and their Patrons have ever been far more honorable, then their Adverſaries. Clothiers, Interlopers, ſome Officers of the Outports, and Court projectors have moleſted them on the one ſide: but on the other ſide Parliaments,

ments, Kings, Privy-Councellors, and the wiſeſt of Stateſmen have protected them, and their Cauſe; and upon a full, and due hearing it continually appeared, that their friends had honourable, but their oppoſers diſhonourable ends. As for the Clothier, He ſtomacks much that He muſt be ſo ſtrictly held to the Statute, and may not digreſſe from the juſt weight, and meaſure, that is there ſet for his Clothes. The Interloper takes offence, that without contributing for Himſelf, He may not injoy the benefits of that policy, which is maintained at other mens charge: that the ſame hedges which keep other men from treſpaſſing him, ſhould keep him from treſpaſſing other men. The Outport Officer is prevented of ſome bribes, for ſtolne cuſtomes, falſe-colour'd goods, &c. by the regular ſhipping of our Merchants, and by our Miniſters, which keeps too ſevere a check upon him, and therefore his indignation is raiſed. In the mean time the begging Courtier, He finds it profitable for the Common-wealth, that accuſations ſhould be favoured, and that all Complainants ſhould be heard: for whether the Complaints be true or falſe, juſt, or unjuſt, profit comes in to Him both wayes, and the Innocent muſt gratifie him for his *quietus eſt*, as well as the nocent for his impunity. King *James anno* 1613. found that his Progenitors had been deceived in their Grants to us, and therefore ſuſpended and ſequeſtred our Priviledges: but in *anno* 1616. and 1617. after that the Merchants had been drained of 20, or 30000 l. and *Cockayns* new project (ſo obſtructive to Trade) was falne to the ground of it ſelf, the ſame ancient Charters, and Liberties were revived with more honourable teſtimonials then ever; the Courtiers were again ſenſible that King *James* and his Progenitors had been well adviſed in their Grants.

The Merchants Adventurers long before the Art of Endraping Cloth was introduced into *England*, had Priviledges abroad from the Dukes of *Brabant*, and other Potentates. *Edw:* the 3d. having tranſplanted the Manufacture out of the *Netherlands*, for the better watering, and cheriſhing of it, confirmed to the ſaid Adventurers whatſoever had been granted in the yeer 1248. by *John* D: of *Brabant*. *Hen:* the 4th. ſeeing the good effects of his grandfathers indulgence, added a more beneficiall and large Charter of priviledges in *Feb:* 1406. *H.* 5. *H.* 6. *Edw:* 4. and *R.* 3. were

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were followers of that good example by severall ratifications, But *H.7.* seeming to transcend all his Predecessors in policie, and desiring to testifie the same by his care of Merchants, proceeded further to dilate their priviledges, and preeminences. *Polydor Virgil* gives him this Encomium: *Mercatores ille sæpenumerò pecuniâ multa data gratuito juvabat, ut Mercatura (Ars una cunctis æque mortalibus tum commoda, tum necessaria) in suo regno copiosior esset.* In his Reigne (enmities and hostilities interrupting our commerce with the *Burgundians*) we had a Staple provided for us at *Calais*; and then under our own Soveraigne, within our own Dominions we saw our own fellow Subjects as tenderly entertained with divers Franchises, and Indulgences, as if they had capitulated with a strange Prince.

Since *H. 7.* all his Successors have confirmed, or inlarged what was granted before; within few yeers also this King; and since that, this Parliament in 1643. have added strong ratifications, and that not without honourable acknowledgements of this famous Companies services to the publick. Moreover in the times of *Hen:* 4. and *Hen:* 7. some Complaints were preferred by Clothiers, &c. against the Merchant Adventurers: but after due examination, and hearing, the Company had a favourable issue, and not onely obtained a fuller establishment of former Charters, but also new expresse clauses against stragling Merchants, and all other intermedlers, that might empeach, or disturbe their Trade. Other Informations were under *Edw:* 6. exhibited against the same Company by some of their own Brethren: but after the Councell Table had taken a full cognizance thereof, the two chief of the Informers were committed to the *Fleet*, and the rest were Fined, and more strictly injoyned to submit to the Companies Orders for the future. The same Informers also not so acquiescing, made new addresses to the Parliament held after by Queen *Mary:* but the busines was soon quashed there also, and the accusers without further remedie dismissed.

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There is another clog remaining upon our Trade to this day, and it is continued still upon the same reason: the Merchant Adventurers at first were stinted to a certain number of Clothes, which number in their exportations they might not exceed: now it appears since to the State, that that number was too strait, and that it is very inexpedient for Trade to circumscribe our Merchants rigorously with that stint; and yet notwithstanding Courtiers must be still feed for releasing Trade of this inexpedience. The Earl of *Cumberland* in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes was sweetned

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Alderman *Cockayns* Project in King *James* his dayes was guilded over with a more specious pretext then that in Queen *Elizabeths*, and when our Company was at that time dissolved, Trade was not absolutely layd common (as before) without all manner of regulation: but to prevent general confusion (which had proved it self continually so fatall) a new Company was erected, and incorporated: yet neither so could this project prosper, or subsist. King *James* in his Proclamation *Anno* 1617. publisht for the restitution of our Company and its ancient Privileges, (after that the consumption, and miserable languishment of Trade for above two yeers space had better instructed him) attestated to the world the excellent method, and discipline of our ancient Corporation, and how ineffectuall his new-found jurisdiction had proved for the vending of our [illegible] manufactures. And it should seem this was sufficiently [illegible] the world, yet the Courtiers would not be so satisfied: for they thought they had gratified the Common-wealth in restoring the ancient Company of the Adventurers, and that they had gratified the Merchant Adventurers in restoring them to their due rights, and therefore to inclose by bargain for themselves a gratification of 20, or 30000 li. was no ill office.

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ſweetned with a Preſent for obtaining an inlargement of our ſtint; but that Preſent now is become a Rent, and is ſucceſſively granted by Patent; and though the Patentee be a ſingle perſon, and cannot be ſaid properly to gratifie the Common-wealth, yet He receives ſuch a yeerly revenue in conſideration that the Common-wealth ſhall not be diſſerved: and this revenue it ſelf being an Incumbrance upon our Draperies, and raiſed out of Woollgrowers, Clothiers, Merchants Retailors, and ſo charging Trade in generall, is no leſſe then a diſſervice it ſelf to the Common-wealth. Thus we ſee our Charters have been often times, and ſeverall wayes attempted againſt: and yet if they had not been ſo much ſhaken, their power of reſiſtance had not been ſo experimentally known; for the more the Anchor is ſtraitned, the faſter hold it ever gains.

4th. Arg: Since every man is preſumed to be moſt knowing in that Craft wherein He has been bred up; we may preſume the Clothiers in matters of cloth to be more knowing then the Merchant.

Anſ. Firſt, in the making of Cloth we deny not but there may be more skill in the Clothier then in the Merchant; but the queſtion here is about the uttering and vending, not about working or preparing of cloth: and therfore, it follows not that the breeding of the Clothier does ſo much inable him to ſell cloth, eſpecially in great quantities, and that to forrein Nations, as the Merchants: but rather the contrary, even by the truth of the ſame granted rule. For aſmuch as there is not onely an Art and Myſterie in the ſale of cloth as aforeſaid, but alſo an Art more abſtruſe, eminent, and exquiſite then that is which conſiſts in the Mechanicall way of making and dreſſing the ſame.

Secondly, the State is not to conſider what is moſt beneficiall to the Merchant, what to the Clothier *ſeparatim*, or whether the benefit of the one alone, or of the other be more to be favoured, but how they may be both favoured *conjunctim*, and how the State may be moſt benefited by twiſting their intereſts both together. Now then generall intereſt of the State requires that all our *Lanificia*, or *Engliſh* commodities be raiſed in price unto other Nations as high as may be without injuſtice, or inconvenience, and that as many perſons and profeſſions in *England* as may be, may

may come to be ſharers in the generall intereſt. If the queſtion then be, whether the Merchants intereſt, or the Clothiers do more conduce to this publick reaſon of *State*; ſenſe it ſelf will preſently diſtinguiſh, that the Merchants advantage is more compliant with the publick then the Clothiers. For the Clothiers ayme is to drown that gain, which the Merchants induſtry and imployment now ſerves for, and which by his ſervice is kept within the bounds of our own Iſland, to the maintaining of ſo many families at home, and buſying ſo many men, and Ships abroad, and thereby to abridge the ſame the more to Natives, the more it is publicated unto ſtrangers. The *Hollanders* are ſo ſubtill as to clog our *Engliſh* Woollen manufactures with great Impoſitions, and to free their own of the ſame, that the prices of their meaner Draperies may be raiſed up to our better ones, or the prices of our better Draperies may be beaten down to their meaner ones: but our ſubtiltie muſt be for the pleaſure of our Clothiers to intercept from the Merchants all that livelihood which they now earn, and by vilifying of our own Wares to proſtitute the ſame unto Strangers: nay and by the ſame means to expoſe themſelves to the danger of having worſe treatance from forreiners, then now they have from their own Countreymen.

Thirdly, if more regard be had of the Clothier, then of the Merchant, or State, yet conſtant experience teaches us, that this favour and preference which the Clothier challenges herein above the Merchant, is no reall favour, nor preference at all. For it has been alwayes ſeen, that the ſetting at liberty of the Merchants Trade has proved more obſtructive to the Clothier then to the Merchant, in as much as the Merchant has a more large imployment, and can better ſubſiſt without the Clothier, then the Clothier can without the Merchant. Moreover as it doth not alwayes fall out, that the breaking up of the Merchants Trade brings any preſent quickneſſe to Trade: ſo if it doth, that quickneſſe never laſts; 'tis but *bonum preſens*; 'tis but like cold water to a feaveriſh man, it procures ſome ſhort refreſhment, but repays that ſhort refreſhment within a ſhort ſpace after with a prolongation of ſharper extremities. So it proved it in Qu: *Elizabeths* times; ſo it proved in King *James* his rimes; and ſo it is likely to

 prove

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prove hereafter: wherefore if men of Mechanicall education will onely contemplate present things, and neither look forward nor backward, Statesmen may, and must disaccommodate them for the present, that they may be accommodated the better for the future.

5th. Arg: That power in private men which onerates the chief Commodities of the Realm with arbitrary impositions to maintain it self, is dangerous: but such is the Merchants power, &c. *Anſ.* Our Companies ordinary charge is scarce considerable in respect of the great summes we deal for; and the extraordinary charge is alwayes drawn on by some extraordinarie, unavoidable inconvenience: for example, the removals of our Residence from one Mart Town to another is commonly a great burthen to us, but that burthen is undertaken to avoid some greater detriment, and without it either we should loose old priviledges, or be made to submit to some new exactions: or be some other way aggrieved in a worse degree. Now this is for the common good, and we may rather expect favour from the Kingdom, then disfavour for such services.

Secondly, we have a Bill now in the Houses, prepared for His Majesties Assent, and in that Bill the future Impositions of our Company are reduced to a certaintie.

Thirdly, there is an absolute necessity of these Impositions, for neither can our Trade prosper without government, nor government be maintained without some charge: neither is our government necessary onely for our selves, but also for the Clothier, for as much as we are a good skreen, or bank betwixt the Merchant stranger, and the *English* Clothier, and were not the prices of our clothes kept up by us, and that partly by the charge of our government, the Clothier would be more inslaved to the Stranger, then now He is.

Lastly, our Accounts are kept most exactly, and audited punctually, and the hands through which all things passe are so many that there can be no error, nor fraud. The Hans Towns in *Germany*, anciently 72. in number, found it expedient to incorporate, and maintain a common correspondence: for which end *Lubeck* of the *Wendish*, *Brunswick* of the *Saxon*, *Dantzig* of the *Prusse*, and *Cullen* of the *Westphalish* Towns was appointed to be chief;

chief; and the chief of all was *Lubeck*. These Towns so united for adjusting all common, and particular interests, obtained severall places of Residence in *England* at *London*, in *Norway* at *Bergen*, in *Russia* at *Novograde*: in the *Netherlands* at *Antwerpe*: and in each of these residencies they had their Alderman, Assistants, Secretaries, Treasurers, Stewards, and other Officers, by whom their publick affairs were administred, and Merchant Law was exercised. Wherefore if the expence of their government was more then countervailed by the benefit of their unity; and if they were gainers by that expence, why should that be imprudent in us which was prudent in them? or why should that be dammage to us, which was profit to them?

The ordinary pleas for *Freedom* are thus answered, and the Objections against Reglement in Trade removed; we will now onely re-inforce all that has been said in a word, or two.

The most solid glory, and magnificence that ever dazel'd humane eyes upon earth: was that of *Solomons* royall Court, at that time, when his unparralleld wisdome had made Silver as stones in *Jerusalem*, and Cedars as vulgar as Sycamores used to be in other places.

Tis written of his raigne (by an inspired Author) that it made Silver of no account, that in one yeer there flowed into his Exchequer 666 Talents of pure Gold; that besides all his Masses of *Ophir* gold, he abounded with other various Treasures, precious stones, &c. such as the Merchants of Spices, the Governours of the Countrie, and the Kings of *Arabia* did import. *Solomon* was no warriour, nor born Lord of many Nations, nor did his *Jewish* Signiory extend it selfe over any large Tract in the universe: tis onely written of him, that he had at Sea a Navie of *Tarshish* with *Hirams*, & the same Navie once in 3 years returned home fraighted with gold, silver, ivory &c. *Hiram* being hitherto straitned in the mediterranean Seas, could not gaine the *Stronds* of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, *China*, &c. without incompassing the Capes or *Africa*, and crossing the Suns torrid line: but upon terms of partnership *Solomon* is now able to let him in to that *Southern* Ocean by a way far more compendious.

Pharaoh on the further side of the red sea is *Solomons* neer Allye: and the *Edomites* on this side are his tributary servants: hereupon,

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on things are so composed betwixt the *Jews*, and *Tyrians*, that it is as beneficiall for the *Tyrians* to serve the *Jews* with their skill in Astronomy, and Hidrography, as for the *Jews* to serve the *Tyrians* with their harbours, and ships. Therefore the Queen of *Sheba* (till her eyes were ascertained with substances) might well withhold her belefe from entertaining, that stupendious report which was blowne about the world concerning *Solomon*; and well might her spirit after sinke within her, when her eyes had once encountered with the radiant Majesty of *Solomon*, whereby the blasts of Fames Trumpet were so far drowned, and transcended. Of all *Solomons* successors we read of none but *Jehosaphat*, that ever thought of rigging new navies in *Ezion-geber*; and He nevertheless though he had the *Edomites* his homagers, and was also much renowned for his wisdome, and grandour, found this designe unfeasible, and the way to *Ophir* altogether unpassable. This is a cleer christis to indicate how profound the judgment, and how broad the comprehension of *Solomon* was, before whom (till apostacie had alien'd his God from him) no difficulties were able to stand: yet 'twas not so admirable in *Solomon*, that he amassed such incredible treasures, as that he amassed them by Peacefull arts, and not by the dint of his sword.

The tragicall exploits of *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, may be accounted *magna, & splendida Latrocinia*, if they be compared to the feats of Merchandize excercised by *Solomon* and the other Kings of *Tyre* and *Arabia*; and yet we may doubt too, whether the spoile of the East to *Alexander*, or of the West to *Cæsar* were equall in value to all *Solomons* Cargazoons.

Whilest the cruell depredations of war impoverish, dispeople and by horrid devastations root up, and so shrinke (as it were) great Empires into small Provinces: Merchandise on the other side beautifies, inriches, inpowers little States, and so alters their naturall dimensions, that they seem to swell, as it were, into spacious Empires. This martiall *Hero* has inscribed upon his Statue: that he has fought so many picht battells, that he has with his rapid lightnings spread a suddain conflagration over so many Kingdomes; that with the losse of 100000 fellow Souldiers he has purchased the slaughter of 1000000 Enemies, at least such as he would needs make, and title his Enemies. But in

in the mean time that gentle unbloody Prince which by his severall dispersed Carricks visits each climate of the world onely to plunder the Earths caverns of her Mettalls, or the Rocks of their Diamonds, or the Deepe it self of its pearles; merits to be celebrated for the common benefactor of mankind, as well for the necessaries which he convaies unto other Nations, as for the more pretious wares which he recovers out of the darke abisse of nature, and relades for the use of his own Subjects.

Howsoever this one instance of *Solomon* (to lay aside all other instances of Princes, that have engaged themselves in such like mercatorian negotiations) makes it plain, that the most Majesticall of all Kings that ever raigned, was the most ample adventurer that ever traffickt, and that he had not been so great a Prince, if he had not been so ample a Merchant: for it is more then probable that al the Tributes of *Judea* were inconsiderable in comparison of the returns which *Tarshish* did afford.

It must needs follow therefore from the same very instance, that the devouring, piraticall Trade of war is not so honourable, or so fit to magnifie Princes, and make happie Nations, as that ingenious just Art of commerce, which may be exercised without rigor, or effusion of blood.

I shall then close up all with this application to our own Nation: if Merchandise be truly noble: in the raies which streamed so plentifull from *Solomons* diadem were more supplyde by traffick, then by tribute; let not *England* totally neglect Merchants. Let us look into the causes that make Trade so dead amongst us at present, and the fittest remedies that possibly may recover it. In the *East Indies* we know who they are, that by cruelty have oppresst us; In *Russia* we may take notice who they are, that by subtility have supplanted us. Here in *Germany* our Priviledges are ill kept; in *Holland* they are worse.

In many Countries the manufactures in Silkes, and Cottonwoolls increase. In High, and Low *Germany* the store of sheep is increased, and of late the kinde of them especially in *Silesia* is much improoved, hereby, and by the help of *Spanish* woolls, nay of *English* woolls too, & Fullers Earth daily exported against Law, our *English* Draperies are extreamely brought low.

The late obstructions and calamities of civill war in our Kingdome,

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dome, concurring with other annoyances done us by the Kings Agents abroad, and military Commissions upon the Sea, have added more to our ruine. Moreover, in other things the Times seeme to looke towards a Reformation, but in matters of Trade Order and regulation it self is opposed, and confusion under the Name of Liberty is now more then ever publickly pleaded for. The King by his Proclamation had formerly confirmed his Progenitors grant to us, and the Parliament lately has corroborated the Kings Proclamations, yet nothing can secure us against intruding *Interlopers*. By this meanes Merchandize is brought to a low ebbe, 20 Ships yearly in former times did attend us here in *Hamburgh*, now 6. are sufficient to supply us, and though our Company be in this Consumption, some other Companies waste away worse then ours. All these mischiefs perhaps are not remediable, yet let us use the best remedies we can, and such as are most seasonable.

In *Platoes* Opinion those Common-wealths were most likely to prosper where learned men ruled, or Rulers were learned. Within the circle of *Platoes* learning let us comprehend the mysteries of commerce. In *Solomons* dayes that kinde of learning did wonderfull things towards the advancing of States; and of late as *Venice* a City of Merchants has been the Bulwark of *Europe* against the *Turk*: so the States in the United Provinces by Trade more then Arms, have gotten the sword of Arbitration into their hands. *Spain*, and *France*, and other Nations no ware faln to court their Merchants, which not long since were belowe their scorn. Let it then be lawfull to propose either that a certain number of able Merchants may be made Privy Councellors: or so many Privy Councellors specially designed to intend matters of Trade; or let some other Honourable Councell be impowred solely to promote the Common-wealth of Merchants.

By

By the King.

A Proclamation for the better Ordering the Transportation of Clothes, and other Woollen Manufactures into *Germany*, and the *Low-Countreys*.

WHereas We have taken into our Princely Consideration the manifold benefits that redound to this Kingdom by the Manufacture of Woollen Clothes, and the Transportation and venting thereof in forrein parts: and finding how much good government, and managing the said Trade in an Orderly way will conduce to the increase, and advancement of the same: We for the better setteling of Order therein for the time to come, have thought fit with advice of Our Privy Councell, to declare Our Royall pleasure herein: And do therefore hereby strictly will and Command, that no Person, or Persons, Subject, or Subjects of this our Realm of *England*, shall at any time from and after the Feast of *Purification*, &c. now next coming, Ship, transport, carrie, or convay, or cause to be shipped, &c. either from Our City and Port of *London*, or from any other City, Town, Port, Haven, or Creek of this Our Realm of *England* by way of Merchandice any White-clothes, coloured Clothes, Clothes dressed, and Died out of the Whites, Clothes called Spanish Clothes, Bayes, Kersys, Perpetuanoes, Stockings, or any other *English* Woollen commodities unto any the Cities, Towns, places in *Germany*, or the 17. Provinces of the *Netherlands*, save onely, and except to the Mart, and Staple-towns of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in those parts for the time being, or to one of them.

And further, to the end that the said Trade may be hereafter reduced, and continued in an orderly and well govern'd course: We do hereby declare Our Royall pleasure to be, that the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers shall admit into their *Freedom* of their said Trade all such our Subjects dwelling in our City of *London*, and exercised in the Profession of Merchants: and not

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Shop-keepers, except they give over their Shops, as ſhall deſire the ſame, for the Fines of 50 li. apiece; if they ſhall take their *Freedom* before Midſommer next; And that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall likewiſe receive and admit into their *Freedom* ſuch our Subjects of the Outports of this Our Kingdom, as being exerciſed in the Trade of Merchants ſhall deſire the ſame, paying them 25 li. apiece for their Fine or Income: if they ſhall take their ſaid *Freedom* before Michaelmas next. And that the Sons, and Servants of ſuch as ſhall be ſo admitted, as aforeſaid, ſhall pay to the ſaid Fellowſhip at their ſeverall admiſſions thereunto the ſumme of 6--13--4. apiece. And that all ſuch perſons, as ſhall not accept, and come into the ſaid *Freedom* before the dayes herein prefixed, ſhall pay the double of the Fines before limited reſpectively, in caſe they ſhall afterwards deſire to be admitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip.

And Our further will, and pleaſure is, and We do hereby command and inhibit all, and every of our Subjects, not being Free of the ſaid Fellowſhip of Merchant Adventurers, that they, or any of them ſhal not preſume to Trade in any the fore-named Commodities into any the parts or places of *Germany*, or *Low-Countreys* from or after the ſaid Feaſt of *Purification* next enſuing, upon pain of Our high diſpleaſure, and of ſuch puniſhments as Our Court of Star-Chamber, whom We eſpecially charge with the execution of Our Royall pleaſure herein, ſhall think fit to inflict for ſuch contempts.

White Hall: Decemb. 7. 10. of Our Reign. 1634.

Die

Die Mer. 11. *Octob.* 1643.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled.

For the upholding of the Government of the Fellowſhip of *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*, to the better maintenance of the Trade of *Clothing*, and *Woollen Manufacture of the Kingdom.*

FOr the better incouragement and ſupportation of the Fellowſhip of *Merchant Adventurers* of *England*, which hath been found very ſerviceable and profitable to this State: and for the better government, and regulation of Trade, eſpecially that ancient and great Trade of *Clothing*, whereby the ſame will be much advanced to the Common good, and benefit of the people: The *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament do Ordain: that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall continue, and be a Corporation, and ſhall have power to levie moneys on the Members of their Corporation, and their goods, for their neceſſary charge, and maintenance of their Government: and that no perſon ſhall Trade into thoſe parts, limited by their Incorporation, but ſuch as are Free of that Corporation, upon forfeiture of their goods. Provided, that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall not exclude any perſon from his *Freedom*, and Admiſſion into the ſaid Fellowſhip which ſhall deſire it by way of Redemption, if ſuch perſon by their cuſtome be capable thereof, and hath been bred a Merchant, and ſhall pay 100 li. for the ſame, if He be Free, and an Inhabitant of the City of *London*, and trade from that Port, or 50 li. if He be not Free, and no Inhabitant of the ſaid City, and trade not from thence: and that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have power to impriſon Members of their Company in matters of their government, and to give ſuch an Oath, or Oaths, to them as ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament. Provided, that all rights confirmed by an Act of Parliament, or ancient Charters, ſhall be hereby ſaved. And the ſaid Lords and Commons do further Ordain,

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IRREGULAR

PAGINATION

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That

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That with all convenient expedition, a Bill shall be prepared in Order to an Act of Parliament to be passed in this present Parliament, for the further setling, and full confirming of the Priviledges to the said Fellowship, with such other clauses, and provisions as shall be found expedient by both Houses of Parliament. This Ordinance to remain in full force, untill a Bill or Act shall be prepared and passed, according to the intent and true meaning of this Ordinance. And it is Ordered, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and publisht, that all persons concerned therein may take notice thereof, as appertaineth.

Jo: Browne Cler: Par.

H: Elsyng Cler: Par. Dom. Com.

FINIS.

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